

September 2, 1965

be a most apt observance of the first World Law Day proclaimed by the United Nations in this International Cooperation Year.

Our Nation's Capital is indeed fortunate to be honored by the presence here of this historic gathering of esteemed jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars, who have, singly and together, contributed so much to moving the world toward mankind's great dream of peace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the introduction from World Law Day, a publication of the World Peace Through Law Center, which is sponsoring the Washington Conference under the able guidance of its Chairman, Charles S. Rhyne.

There being no objection the introduction was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

INTRODUCTION

(By Charles S. Rhyne)

The first World Law Day will be proclaimed throughout the world on September 13, 1965, to focus the attention of people everywhere on the importance of the role of the law to individual freedom and mankind's hope for a peaceful and orderly universe.

It will also mark the opening day of the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law at which the highest judicial officials and the leaders of the international legal profession will explore ways in which law and legal institutions may aid in the resolution of international disputes and the maintenance of world peace.

World Law Day will be an important international event during International Cooperation Year as proclaimed by the United Nations and governments throughout the world. Its observance will provide an outstanding opportunity for international cooperation to make a substantial contribution to the cause of peace.

Appropriate observances will take place in almost every country of the world to demonstrate that the maintenance of law and order is essential to peaceful relations between men and states. Ceremonies at the local, State, and National levels, as well as appropriate international events, will dramatize the necessity for justice under the law for the preservation of liberty for the individual as well as for national freedom and independence.

It is an opportunity for members of the legal profession to join with their fellow citizens to organize programs of educational and inspirational merit worthy of the cooperative support of the entire community. It fosters an increased respect for the law. It encourages responsible citizenship by emphasizing the individual's responsibilities to the community, and it provides every citizen the opportunity to make a personal contribution toward the development of mankind's most practical hope for peace—world peace under the rule of law.

September 13, 1965, is the day on which appropriate observations everywhere will demonstrate a public appreciation of and dedication to the ideals of justice and equality under the law for all men everywhere. World Law Day is International Cooperation Year in action. It is a joint enterprise of the legal profession, governmental and other leaders of nations to focus attention of all peoples upon the rule of law as the true path to world peace. Peace and order can be achieved and maintained in the world community only when law rules and legal institutions are strong enough to prevent war.

World Law Day will remind mankind of the promise and potential of a world ruled by law and of the cooperative projects now under way to accomplish that great ideal. No more meaningful project to save humanity from nuclear holocaust could take place as a part of International Cooperation Year. With such a great objective before us, let us do our task well.

A world legal system including a world court system and a world law code must be based upon the foundation of national law and court systems. Thus the international legal profession should focus its attention upon building stronger domestic foundations for the concentrated effort to create a rule of law for the world community.

Law must replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity. World Law Day will cause man to think and act to build through international cooperation a peaceful world which can only mean a world where the rule of law has replaced the rule of force.

CONDEMNATION OF THE RUMANIAN PERSECUTION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITIES

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, as many of my colleagues are aware, there are presently about 2 million Hungarians living in Rumania who are being systematically persecuted. The present generation of Hungarians are in grave danger of losing a heritage that stretches back over 1,000 years. The resolution I am submitting today expresses the deep concern of the Senate over the plight of these brave people.

We, as a Nation, should be particularly sympathetic to the strains of nationalism. Our history shows that the spirit of American freedom and independence gave birth to this country and has made it grow and prosper. Let us assist these people in their effort to retain those tenets of daily life that are so necessary to an honorable existence.

Hungarians first moved to Transylvania during the 10th century. They provided the driving force for political and economic developments in this area until the end of World War I. Transylvania became part of Rumania in 1920 under the Peace Treaty of Trianon. The Second Vienna Award of 1940 returned the northern part of this territory to Hungary. But, in 1947, the Paris Peace Treaty annulled the award and returned northern Transylvania to Rumania. This treaty stipulated that the Rumanian Government would extend equal rights to all citizens without regard to sex, religion, or language.

It is the violation of these terms of the Paris treaty that I find most offensive. The people were given a solemn promise which has been continually circumvented so that all that remains is the hollow shell.

Oppression has been the key word since 1946. The particular targets were the middle income farmers and businessmen who were persecuted and relocated to prevent the rise of a strong nationalistic class.

In spite of these efforts the Hungarians in Transylvania boldly supported the efforts of their kin in the tragic Hungarian revolution of 1956. Once this uprising was suppressed, the Rumanian author-

ities committed themselves to a policy of sterilization to insure that the nationalistic feelings which sparked the Hungarian uprising would not spread to Transylvania.

The form of these reprisals have changed after the initial harsh measures produced the expected results. In 1957 and 1958 mock trials were held at Kolozsvár for the leaders of the Hungarian minority. The usual death sentences were imposed for crimes against the state. Numerous secret trials were also held to purge the Hungarians of their natural leaders. In addition, many other officials succumbed to official pressure and confessed to the sins of bourgeois nationalism and policies of cultural isolation for Hungarians.

Because of these harsh penalties, the necessity for public trials and mass arrests are no longer necessary. The memory of what can happen to those who speak out against the state is sufficient to silence the public voice of nationalism.

Efforts are now underway to force Hungarians out of Transylvania on a voluntary basis. This is being done by making this once productive area one that is incapable of supporting the millions of Hungarians who are now living within its confines. An example of this policy may be found in the rich natural gas deposits around Kismarjas. These supplies were tapped but the industrial complexes that would normally form in this area were officially situated outside Transylvania. The Government built a chemical industrial complex 40 miles from the source of this power. To do so it had to construct a pipeline over mountains and establish an entire new city to house the workers. All this when the natural location of these products could have easily been built right on the site in Transylvania.

The end result of such policies is to force the Hungarians into other sections of Rumania to be assimilated by the predominately Rumanian populations. But, the fate of those remaining in Transylvania is equally distressing. Hungarians who refuse to leave their homeland are denied access to their historical rights. The Hungarian language is slowly disappearing from both school and marketplace. Religious freedom is a mockery. National cultural organizations are virtually nonexistent.

The great contributions of Hungarians to the arts and sciences are either not taught or are presented through the Rumanian institutions. The Hungarian Bolyai University has been merged with the Rumanian Babes University; courses formerly taught in Hungarian are now presented only in Rumanian. The official language of districts that once spoke Hungarian almost exclusively are now forced to converse in Rumanian. Hungarian workers employed in shops must speak Rumanian to their fellow Hungarians.

Finally, the Hungarian areas are being politically subdivided so that any hope of cultural survival is impossible. The Rumanian government paid lip service to the Paris treaty by establishing the

Section 5600 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection after subsection (3):

"(4) A person appointed in the Naval Reserve whose appointment is conditional upon his possessing training beyond the four-year-college level shall be credited with up to three years service in an active status, one year for each academic year so required."

Section 3353 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection after subsection (c):

"(d) A person covered by subsection (a) and whose appointment is conditional upon his possessing training beyond the four-year-college level shall be credited upon his appointment for the purposes of subsection (a) with up to three years service in an active commissioned status, one year for each academic year so required."

Section 8287 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection after subsection (5):

"(6) Up to three years, if he is appointed in a specialty which requires training beyond the four-year-college level as a precondition to this appointment, one year for each academic year so required."

Section 8353 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection after subsection (c):

"(d) A person covered by subsection (a) and whose appointment is conditional upon his possessing training beyond the four-year-college level shall be credited upon his appointment and for the purposes of subsection (a) with up to three years service in an active commissioned status, one year for each academic year so required."

Sec. 3. Section 205 of title 37, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (a) is amended—

(A) by inserting "and (f)" after "(b)-(d)" in the introductory language;

(B) by striking out "and" at the end of clause (8);

(C) by redesignating clause "(9)" as "(12)";

(D) by inserting the following new clauses: "(9) for an officer credited with service under—

"(A) section 3287(a) (2) (A), (B), or (E) of title 10;

"(B) section 3353(b) (3), (4), or (5), (c) or (d) of title 10;

"(C) section 5600(b) (1) (C), (2), (3), or (4) of title 10;

"(D) section 8287(a) (2), (3), or (6) of title 10;

"(E) section 8353(b) (3), (4), or (5), (c) or (d) of title 10;

the service so credited to him, but not more than three years;

"(10) for an officer whose appointment is conditional upon his possessing a doctor of philosophy degree—three years;

"(11) for an officer whose appointment is conditional upon his possessing training beyond the four-year-college level—up to three years, one year for each academic year so required; and"; and

(E) by striking out "(9)" in the last sentence and inserting in place thereof "(12)".

(2) Subsection (b) is amended by striking out "clause (7) or (8)" and inserting in place thereof "clause (7), (8), (9), (10), or (11)".

(3) The following new subsection is added after subsection "(e)":

"(f) Notwithstanding any other law, service credited under clauses (9), (10), or (11) of subsection (a) of this section may not—

"(1) be included in establishing eligibility for voluntary retirement or separation from a uniformed service; or

"(2) increase the retired or retirement pay of a person who became entitled to that pay before the effective date of the Act enacting this subsection."

The sectional analysis presented by Mr. McIntyre is as follows:

SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF A BILL

Section 1 of the bill would amend title 10, United States Code, section 1405, to authorize the "years of service" that would be credited to a member of a uniformed service for basic pay purposes under section 3 of the bill to be used as a multiplier in computing his retired pay.

Section 2 of the bill would amend title 10, United States Code, sections 3287, 5600, 3353, 8287, and 8353, so as to provide authorization of up to 3 years' constructive service credit for rank and lineal precedence to those officers of the uniformed services who are required to have advanced training beyond the 4-year college level as precondition to their appointment, 1 year for each academic year so required.

Section 3 of the bill would amend title 37, United States Code, section 205, to authorize certain professional officers, and those assigned to duties requiring advanced training beyond the 4-year college level as a precondition to their appointment, to be credited with additional years of service for the purpose of computing basic pay.

This section of the bill would extend this privilege to all categories of officers credited with constructive service for grade, promotion, and seniority purposes.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to amend titles 10 and 37, United States Code, to provide career incentives for certain professionally trained officers of the Armed Forces.

Under the proposed amendments, the constructive service so credited would be generally equivalent to the years of college education over the normal 4 years obtained by officers at their own expense before entering military service.

An officer who has obtained his professional training and licensure at his own expense would be placed in a position comparable to that of his college contemporary who entered the service with only a basic baccalaureate degree and received his additional training and education at Government expense while on active duty without loss of rank or precedence. Under current regulations, the penalty imposed on an individual who obtains advanced education at his personal expense is sufficiently severe to deter such highly qualified individuals from entering the service.

The proposed legislation would eliminate this penalty and thereby encourage a greater number of professionally trained officers to enter the Armed Forces and remain on a career basis.

WORLD LAW DAY

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], my colleagues on the steering committee of Members of Congress for world peace through the rule of law, I submit a concurrent resolution expressing the support of Congress for the World Conference on World Peace Through Law being held September 13 to 18 in Washington, D.C.

This resolution was submitted yesterday in the House by Mr. FRASER, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, and Mr. FASCELL.

The highest judicial and legal officials of 120 nations will be the special honored invitees at this conference and more than 2,000 of the world's leading lawyers

are expected to attend and participate in the proceedings. Former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman will serve as honorary cochairmen of the sponsors committee, and Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, is the honorary Chairman of the Conference. It will be perhaps the most important, representative and influential international assembly of the legal profession in history.

I believe that this resolution would be a fine welcome to the hundreds of visiting supreme court justices, parliamentarians and members of the legal profession from all over the world. Its adoption will once again demonstrate the strong faith of the U.S. Government in a world ruled by law.

Mr. President, this resolution is simple and self-explanatory. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed at this point in the Record.

In order that my colleagues in the Senate may have a chance to cosponsor this resolution, I ask unanimous consent that it be held at the desk until the close of business, Tuesday, September 7. I hope that it will be speedily approved by both Houses of Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the concurrent resolution will be held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from South Dakota.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 57) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 57

Whereas 1965 is International Cooperation Year as proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly and the President of the United States; and

Whereas this Congress has enacted S. Con. Res. 36 to encourage international cooperation within the framework of law and order; and

Whereas the President has designated September 13, 1965, as World Law Day, a special day for emphasizing the need to strengthen international cooperation through law and legal institutions; and

Whereas September 13, 1965, marks the opening of the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law with leading jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars from 120 nations meeting in Washington to discuss the development of legal rules and judicial systems for the maintenance of world peace: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Congress that the people of the United States welcome to their shores the jurists and members of the legal profession of these many nations and will join with them in this important effort to build world peace.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join with my colleague from South Dakota as a cosponsor of the concurrent resolution welcoming to the United States the distinguished participants in the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law. This Conference will be the second World Conference on World Peace Through Law—the first was appropriately held in Athens in 1963.

The Washington Conference is a truly momentous event. It will bring together the greatest assemblage of the most eminent members of the legal profession from more than 100 countries, and will

Magyar Autonomous Province to provide a center for Hungarian activities. At the outset it was apparent that this was more a symbol than a reality, with only 29 percent Hungarian population. However, by 1961 this figure had risen to almost 80 percent. To cope with this increased stronghold the Rumanian government changed the boundaries of this area decreasing the Hungarian population to less than 65 percent and adding a commensurate number of Rumanians to the area.

Even in regions that are almost exclusively Hungarian, both officials and police are Rumanian. If the Hungarian language is used at all it is in a purely secondary capacity.

So it is seen that despite the efforts of the Hungarians to preserve their culture they are slowly being made a forgotten ethnic group. They have shown a willingness to adapt to most any political divisions so long as they are allowed to relocate and form their natural communities. But the Rumanian Government has shown a repeated unwillingness to allow this to happen. They are determined to drive these people from their nationalism. If the younger generation is not permitted to participate in ethnic functions and find education in their own language their individuality will surely perish.

The Hungarians are asking no special dispensation, no Rumanian subsidy to carry on their activities. In reality, all they want is to be left to their own devices to perpetuate a life of ageless custom. Surely there can be no heresy in speaking one's native language. Revolution is not taught in church and school. They seek only the right to be themselves.

I hope that the adoption of this resolution will serve notice on the Rumanian Government that we abhor the practices of suppression presently being employed in Transylvania. The freedom to live one's life in the shadow of a historic culture is a right given by God to his people. He has vested the world with different customs that we might learn from each other. In essence, this is all that these brave people ask, a chance to be themselves, a chance to live.

Mr. President, I would like now to introduce in the RECORD, affidavits from individuals who are particularly knowledgeable in this area. Because many of the individuals providing the affidavits have relatives in Rumania, their names have been deleted from their statements for the protection of their families.

AFFIDAVIT

In the spring of 1965 I traveled extensively in Rumania, mostly in Transylvania, but also in the provinces of Muntenia and Moldavia. Observing certain conditions which prevail especially with regard to the 1.75 million Hungarian minority, I would like to submit the following testimony to the European Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C., with special reference to the forthcoming hearings on recent developments in Central and Eastern Europe and in support of House Resolutions 290 and 291 and its companion resolutions:

The Rumanian Communist Government discriminates against its citizens in general. Communist dogma rules its actions, and political freedom even of the very limited kind

noticeable in Hungary and Poland is absent, not to mention any general regard for individual human rights to which we are accustomed in Western countries. "Liberalization" in internal affairs has hardly begun and the fear of the Securitate (secret police) is prevalent. But over and beyond the general oppression of the populace, the Government discriminates even more against its citizens of Hungarian origin in order to "solve the Transylvanian question" by a forced assimilation of the Hungarian ethnic elements into the Rumanian national community.

This discrimination and persecution has two major phases. The first one is economical, the second one educational, and all the grievances relate directly or indirectly to these phases.

I. ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TRANSYLVANIAN HUNGARIANS

There is a conscious and officially abetted drive to force Hungarian Transylvanians to divest themselves of Hungarian culture and language if they want to earn a decent living or get promoted in their particular fields.

This policy is underpinned by a complete colonial exploitation of Transylvanian raw material resources for the benefit of the Rumanian economy outside of Transylvania. In the Communist blueprint Transylvania forms the raw material base and the other provinces the industrial heart of Rumania. This policy also necessitates the migration of individual Hungarians or small groups of Hungarians into purely Rumanian regions as workers thereby rendering their assimilation almost inevitable. The only new plants I observed in Transylvania were bakeries, flour mills and lumber processing plants while there were numerous and modern industrial complexes built in other areas of Rumania.

Roads and transportation means show the same picture. While four-lane highways are no rarities in the Rumanian provinces, often reaching to the Carpathian passes separating Transylvania from the other Rumanian provinces, only the few military roads of interwar vintage are in good shape in Transylvania. Besides inadequate maintenance work on existing roads, they seem to have never been rolled flat, because one- and two-inch rock bits prevail, a deadly danger to any car tire.

A specific example of economic colonization is the use made of the natural gas resources of Transylvania. Already in the 1930's, methane gas was found in large quantities around Kissarnas (Sarmasu) and was exploited with German technical economic help. German interest in keeping control was so strong that in 1940 at the time of the Second Vienna Award that restored northern Transylvania to Hungary, the Germans had Rumania retain the gas wells, though it had meant cutting into two the only connecting railway line between western Transylvania and the southeasterly Szekely counties.

In the 1950's and 1960's new wells were discovered in the area northwest of Marosvásárhely (Turgu Mures) in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province." The exploitation of the wells combined with the erection of half- and full-processing chemical plants would have made economic progress in the south-east Transylvanian Hungarian areas possible and would have eliminated the manpower surplus. Such an economic policy would have been advantageous for the Rumanian Communist Government, too, as all the raw materials (natural gas and potassium salts) were to be found within a 25- to 30-mile radius. Instead, the regime undertook to build a more than 200-mile long pipeline from the Marosvásárhely (Turgu Mures) area into Moldavia (outside of Transylvania) and erected the processing plants in purely Rumanian areas. The name of the new town is Onesti with 60,000 inhabitants, good sanitation, nice-looking five- to six-story apart-

ment houses, well-kept roads, and relatively plenty food supplies.

To realize fully the waste that was accepted as a price of pleasing Rumanian chauvinist predilections, the terrain through which the pipeline was laid must be visualized. Though following the valleys and the lowest Carpathian Pass (Békás) the pipeline runs through an area ranging from 600 to 2,500 feet altitude and cuts through numerous forests and mountains. Its erection, maintenance and operational costs must make the gas received in Onesti uneconomical. Whatever the efficiency and cost rating of the complex, the processing plants look impressive and the front length of the plants is about 3.2 miles. The plants were built in part with funds from British Imperial Chemical Ltd. Rumanian Communists maintain that Onesti was selected because of the availability of saline mines, but this makes little sense as the regions richest in salt in Transylvania are located close to the natural gas (methane) wells.

This example shows the tendency of the Rumanian Communists to avoid the creation of new industries in Hungarian areas even at a high economic cost.

Even last year new wells were discovered and the planned sale of the methane booster station with 4,850 horsepower already licensed by the Commerce Department of the United States would probably be used to establish secondary pipeline arteries in the Marosvásárhely (Turgu Mures) area toward the main pipeline northeast of the city. This assumption is borne out by the fact that the main pipeline measured from the outside is about 26 inches (we do not know the thickness of the insulating ring inside), and that secondary arteries would be about 20 inches in diameter, the figure quoted in the export license.

A second example is the use made of the discovered coal mines in the Harghita Mountains in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province." The mines are located around 30-35 miles from Székelyudvarhely (Odorhei) which is still a sleepy 11,000-people town in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region" that has hardly grown since 1920. This was the perfect occasion to create new industries in the town, especially as skilled earthenware artisans were present both there and at a nearby town, Korond. The decision made was to create the earthenware and china factory in Segesvár (Sigisora), about 100-110 miles from the mines, which town was never Hungarian, but formerly Saxon, now mainly Rumanian. While in the case of Onesti, few Hungarians benefited even by moving there, the migration of Hungarians into Segesvár (Sigisora) was not discouraged, as it meant their assimilation into a Rumanian town within Transylvania. Again the economic cost of the chauvinistic decision is high, indeed. The roads are very bad between the mines and Székelyudvarhely (Odorhei) and also between that town and Segesvár (Sigisora). The trucking, therefore, cause both manpower, material, and wage losses to the plant.

A third example is the creation of the artificial lake and dam at the Bistrica River about 20 miles east of the Békás Pass in Moldavia, obviously to supply the Onesti complex with strong electric current. Here, too, the dam was created on the Moldavian side. A case in point is the fact that the pipeline through the Békás Pass does not even supply the fuel needs of the Hungarian towns and cities in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region." Also the pipeline-laying workers, who earn a good salary in comparison to the agricultural workers who in Rumania do not even receive starvation wages, in the Hungarian area in 1965 were Rumanians.

In general, people are better dressed in Rumanian areas especially outside of Transylvania and technical progress is greater, industrialization more adequate. Even the

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store windows display more and better goods as there is more purchasing power in the Rumanian cities.

In many cities I have looked at the list of graduating students of engineering schools and technical and vocational high schools. Only 5 to 10 percent of the students, even in Transylvania, had Hungarian-sounding names, some of them already using the Rumanian spelling of his or her name. At the same time, the instructional staff is almost completely Hungarian. Friends explain that Hungarians are not welcome in technical high schools.

II. THE ONSLAUGHT AGAINST HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN TRANSYLVANIA

Language and cultural traditions are the mainsprings of national consciousness and the Communist Rumanian Government in attacking "bourgeois nationalism" does realize this fact well. Therefore, it has begun since 1957 a systematic attack to eliminate the Hungarian-language schools in Transylvania altogether. By 1965 there are no more Hungarian schools left in Transylvania. There are only Rumanian schools with one Rumanian and one Hungarian section in Hungarian areas and the cities (as they have had a large percentage of Hungarians) with the Hungarian sections being decreased year by year and their curriculum being taught increasingly in Rumanian. We know of the case of the "voluntary merger" of the Bolyai University at Kolozsvár (Cluj) with the Rumanian Babes University "in order to avoid cultural isolation." But as of September 1, 1965, new changes are going into effect which will render for Hungarian youth to attend Hungarian-language instruction well nigh impossible.

At Kolozsvár where over 40 percent of the population is still Hungarian (it was 78 percent in 1945), e.g., one high school had per grade four Hungarian sections (A, B, C, D) in 1964. As of September 1 it will only have one Hungarian section. It had one Rumanian section per grade before; from September 1 it will have five per grade. As classes were roughly seating 40 students, there were about 160 Hungarian students per grade in the school. Now, even that number was insufficient, as this year in one of the grades there were 316 applicants, and only 40 places for them. In practice it means that even the 160 places available in 1964-65 would have been inadequate to handle all applicants for the Hungarian section, but now they reduced the number of places to 40. The other 276 pupils will either have to attend a Rumanian school or no school at all. In practice, children with 94 average in the Hungarian section will often not be able to continue in the Hungarian section, while in the Rumanian section even pupils with 55 average are passing so as to fill up the new Rumanian sections. This is the Communist equality of rights in education in Rumania. In other schools the situation is similar, and the number of Hungarian sections is being drastically cut with the new school year. As such a process cannot be continued without notice by even foreign visitors, the Government built one Potemkin village in the school jungle. At Nagyenyed (Aiud) the number of Hungarian sections was expanded from four to six, creating thereby a "living antithesis" to the repeated criticism of reducing Hungarian sections all over the country. The foreign visitor is usually shown the school at Nagyenyed (Aiud) and thereby receives authentic information that all the other stories must be the invention of Hungarian chauvinists or Fascist warmongers.

But the grade and high schools are not the only target. There is only one teachers college in Transylvania which until 1964 continued to turn out mostly Hungarian teachers. It is located at Szekelyudvarhely (Odorhei) and is 1 out of 21 teachers colleges in Rumania. In 1964 the students were

already mixed, both Rumanians and Hungarians, and in the coming school year only 25 Hungarian and 40 Rumanian teacher applicants were admitted in a 98-percent Hungarian area. The 40 Rumanian students were either given lodgings in the town or are being bused in.

Additional difficulties for Transylvanian Hungarians consist of the attitude of the Rumanian educational authorities toward scholarships. Hardly any Hungarians ever receives any of them, both because they are often of artisan or middle-class background and because there is a discrimination against them on ethnic grounds.

The final examinations in the high schools, matura, is usually handled leniently for all. The verbal instruction given by the Ministry of Culture is that about 98 percent should pass. The fly in the ointment is the entrance examination to universities. Here it is officially demanded that 60 percent of the admitted students must be of peasant origin and only 40 percent of other background. This renders the position of Hungarian students difficult as the ratio of Hungarians in agriculture is smaller than those of the Rumanians, though lately because of increased discrimination more and more Hungarians are forced back into agriculture among the youth. The most flagrant case was that of a student with Hungarian ethnic background who won a regional competition in his favorite subject and was still not admitted because he was of the wrong political and ethnic background.

Those who pass the hurdle and finish their university studies are set to areas in the old Rumanian provinces both by the fiat of authorities and because they are promised better living conditions and higher wages there. Of course, it must be realized that in Rumania there is only one employer—the state. If it does not take you, you simply do not have a job, and therefore, you must follow the prescription of the Government.

III. IS THERE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN RUMANIA?

During my travels I had a chance to talk to priests and ministers and churchgoers, to some of them even confidentially. Generally, the churches are free to teach their creed, but so is the dissemination of atheistic propaganda. The only difference consists of the fact that the atheists have the power of the state and its authorities behind them, and as a result the churches are losing ground day by day.

Those participating in religious rites on Sunday are almost exclusively people over 45 and 50 years of age. In a church seating 1,200 people only 180 people were attending the Sunday I visited, and there were only 3 children among them, 2 of them girls. Friends of mine who are believers refused my invitation to attend services with me for the fear that this fact would be reported by informers to their employer and the police. One friend told the story that when he had buried his father by a priest, the Securitate questioned him the next day and warned him to desist from any further religious activities if he would like to retain his job and stay out of trouble. The term used was "in that case you must carry all the consequences of your actions."

Many children of my friends were never in a church yet. In one case the child was secretly baptized, in another case the marriage ceremony took place during the night in a cellar room. Faith is still strong among the people and many still regard the churches as the last bulwark against communism, but the terror is so strong that church attendance has fallen off greatly.

In the Protestant denominations, where the election of a bishop does not have to be approved by any authorities outside the Iron Curtain like in the case of the Roman Catholics, Communist Party members, or fellow travelers have often infiltrated even the

high echelons. In the case of the election of the Calvinist (reformed) bishop of Kolozsvár (Cluj) which denomination has an almost purely Hungarian membership, government interference and pressure was the decisive factor. Julius Nagy, the present bishop, had only the support of his own congregation out of approximately 200 congregations throughout Transylvania and there were 3 other candidates each with more than 50 congregations' backing but the Communist government sent a letter that it would only accept Julius Nagy as a bishop among the candidates.

As far as Bishop Aron Martyn, the only surviving Roman Catholic bishop in Transylvania is concerned (Roman Catholics are another denomination almost purely Catholic), I know from personal experience that he is not at liberty to receive anybody except priests of his diocese and that he is very closely watched by the agents of the Securitate. One cannot approach his residence even for 1,500 feet before some agent does not tail you and offers you to become his "guide."

IV. THE GOVERNMENT'S DRIVE TO ASSIMILATE HUNGARIANS INTO RUMANIANS

The drive to Rumanize the 1.75 million Hungarian minority is a general one and extends to positive as well as negative measures. First, mixed marriages (Hungarian and Rumanian) receive the blessing and help of the Communist government. They are given an apartment (at a premium in Transylvania) and often a better job in a purely Rumanian area and sometimes even economic help at the beginning of the marriage is given. Of course the children usually speak Rumanian only as they are educated in Rumanian schools and live in Rumanian areas. Second, if any scientist or artist wants to get nationwide reputation or promotion, he must change his name into a Rumanian-sounding one, or he remains forgotten no matter what his talents are. I can recall the following cases myself. The world champion in women's high jump, Jolán Balás, had to change her name into a more Rumanian-sounding one; i.e., Yolanda Balas. The famous soloist István Ruha appears on the notices as Stephan Ruhe, the actor István Kabán as Stephen Caban. Third, the folkloric museums are offering no more Hungarian and German folklore and embroidery. Szekely embroidery was world-famous as is earthenware. As the Folkloric Museum at Kolozsvár (Cluj) I could not find one piece of these embroideries and earthenware, and the material exhibited was not even Transylvanian Rumanian, but mostly Rumanian from the other provinces. Hungarian earthenware and dolls can no longer be produced in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region" not to speak about the folk styles at Kalotaszeg, southwest of Kolozsvár (Cluj). Fourth, there is a conscious tendency to do away with all the historical monuments as they emphasize the Hungarian history of the region. The old fortresses and castles are generally closed to the public and exposed to the eroding influence of natural forces. Many are now in ruins and all of them neglected. Statues and historic buildings also fall in the neglected category, except where the buildings can be adapted for governmental use. Fifth, a new rule governs the street names in the cities and the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province." By ordinance, the street names were supposed to be in Rumanian and Hungarian. Since 1961 no street plates are made in Rumanian and Hungarian, but only in Rumanian. A few old street plates still can be found in half-rusted or erased condition in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and in the suburban parts of some cities and towns in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province," but they soon will be replaced by Rumanian ones. The old Hungarian cemeteries are neglected and often used for construction purposes. They

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will also soon disappear in all areas except where compact Hungarian districts exist. This is in sharp contrast with the care of cemeteries in other provinces of Rumania, which are exceedingly well kept with flowers and small monuments to the heroes who died in the two world wars.

Finally, the language of administration even in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province" is being changed exclusively into Rumanian and the police and other officials are Rumanians who do not speak or do not want to speak Hungarian. As Szekelyudvarhely (Odorhel) I went to the local police station allegedly with the excuse that I have to register as a tourist. I addressed the officer on duty in Hungarian, he answered in Rumanian. When I maintained that I do not speak Rumanian, he brought an interpreter and asked me to sign the blank form of registration. When I refused he offered that they will fill out the form in Rumanian. When I still refused that I do not know Rumanian and would not know what I was signing, he got angry. Finally I told him that I do not have to sign as my visum specifies that I will be visiting the town. This made him increasingly irritated and he asked me why did I come then at all? I answered that I wanted to know whether in one of the major cities of the Autonomous Province the police speaks Hungarian at all, and pointed to some older people who did not know any Rumanian and had to sign forms and statements in Rumanian. He finally admitted that indeed he does speak Hungarian (though he was an ethnic Rumanian) but he prefers not to speak it and tried to withhold my hotel reservation with little success. This is how "Hungarian self-government" looks in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province." I talked to several traffic policemen in Marosvásárhely (Turgu Mures) and other towns of the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province" and they all replied to me in Rumanian. Generally the police in the Autonomous Province is armed with tommyguns and looks suspiciously around while the police in the other areas is usually lightly armed with sticks and does not seem to be nervous.

Unrest is not high but ever present under the surface. It includes not only members of the persecuted and oppressed Hungarian minority but, Rumanians as well, among whom the policies of the Communist Government are also heartily disliked. The tension between Transylvanian Rumanians and Rumanians from the other provinces so characteristic of the interwar period has also not disappeared. Rumanian friends, including one of the participants, told me that in 1956 70 Rumanian youth swore in the night in an Orthodox church to devote their lives to fighting communism in Transylvania and to fight for a Transylvanian state independent both from Rumanian and Hungary. Of course they were discovered and sentenced to long prison terms, only released under the 1964 amnesty. But their sentiments are often shared by Rumanians and Hungarians alike.

AFFIDAVIT

NEW YORK,
June 24, 1965.

I, the undersigned Mr. K. fully depose and state:

Until the end of February 1965, I was a resident of the Peoples Republic of Rumania in the Marmaros (Maramures) section of Transylvania which until 1918 and between 1940-45 belonged to Hungary. As such I have direct and intimate knowledge of the situation in Transylvania, with particular emphasis upon the situation of the Hungarian minority thereof.

There are no more Hungarian schools in Transylvania, though there were over 3,000 Rumanian schools in Transylvania even under Hungarian rule before 1918. All

schools have Rumanian principals and directors, and there exists only a Hungarian section. In the Rumanian section not even the Hungarian language is taught in the grade schools, even if the city or village is overwhelmingly Hungarian. In the Hungarian section, Rumanian language and literature is taught, and in many instances other subjects in Rumanian as well. However, in Nagybanja (Bala Mare) at least in the Hungarian section most subjects are still taught in Hungarian.

However, those who attend the Hungarian sections are both discriminated against and are finding themselves at a disadvantage when entering college and university. In most cases they fail the entrance examination both because of the lack of proper knowledge of the Rumanian curriculum on which the examination is based and because of open bias against those who have attended Hungarian section instruction.

There is also considerable pressure upon white collar workers and engineers to send their children into the Rumanian sections. Also for members of the Hungarian minority it is almost impossible to get more than one child accepted to college or university regardless of the scholastic achievements of the children.

There is discrimination in job opportunities against Hungarians in Transylvania as well. In my case, my trade license as dry cleaner and clothes dyer was revoked 2 years before the licenses were revoked from my Rumanian colleagues, even though according to the statutes I would have been entitled to remain in the business as I was a disabled war veteran, had two children under 12 years of age and was under the age of 50.

Also if you want to enter state business enterprises or cooperative stores, Hungarians are required to have a gimnazium graduation, lately preferably of Rumanian schools (section). In the case of Rumanians, this requirement is often waived, as I know from cases known to me at Nagybanja (Bala Mare). This was not the case before 1957, the discrimination in employment opportunities regardless of the class cadre consideration is something recent in Transylvania.

In case of Hungarian families with several children, the no college rule for all but one results in personal tragedies. The son and daughter of a medical doctor who works for a cooperative hospital are i.e., need to select who will continue their studies, and seldom is it advisable for anyone to send more than one child to the Hungarian section of the school if he wants to get promoted in his job.

The housing situation is desperate in the towns. There are many new apartment buildings erected but Hungarians only get a flat in them if they can prove that they are of Rumanian origin or are loyal members of the Rumanian Communist Party. Everybody in the offices is speaking Rumanian only for the past 8 to 10 years, even if he or she happen to speak fluent Hungarian. In the case of Nagybanja (Bala Mare) settlement permit is only given to Hungarians if they are drivers, miners or skilled steel industrial workers, otherwise they do not receive permits. These three categories are i.e. shortage professions in Transylvania. In the case of Nagybanja (Bala Mare) the ethnic balance of the city has changed greatly since 1948 by forced Rumanization. While some of the newcomers hail from the mountain villages of Marmaros (Maramures), most of them have come from Rumanian provinces outside of Transylvania, especially from the areas around Ploesti and Bucharest.

In 1956 there were numerous demonstrations against the regime both by Hungarians and Rumanians. The telephone network at Nagybanja (Bala Mare) was damaged by the demonstrators. The demonstrators were mostly students of the technical college and were immediately arrested by the army and police and were held incommunicado for long

years and released only in 1964. Most of those released needed long hospital care and rehabilitation. The other element demonstrating consisted of foundry workers and they were dealt with similarly.

In general, arrests and convictions were used arbitrarily and over severely. One student who told his friends at a Varna vacation that "Let save money so that we can escape to Turkey," was convicted and received a 17-year sentence. He was only released in 1964, and is a nervous wreck. Despite the promise of the Government that all prisoners released will be given jobs, he is still without steady employment a year after his release. A well-known Transylvanian Hungarian artist painter, F. K., was several times in prison, altogether served about 5 to 6 years and was just recently released. Eight women, among them musicians and writers were arrested at Nagybanja after 1956 and only now released. Their crime was to write Hungarian poetry which the regime disliked.

There were many police atrocities. At Nagybanja we know of two instances where people arrested were beaten to death by the political police, one was a clerk named Takacs and another an engineer. These events happened in the wake of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Undoubtedly there were others.

As to the amnesty, according to my personal estimate about 30 percent of those in prison were released, mostly those whose health condition deteriorated. The promises of job placement were not kept in many instances by the State, even in those cases where the released prisoner had a trade. One tailors' apprentice is also without a job for over a year.

There is absolutely no freedom of speech. Someone was fired from his office job and sent to the mines just for stating at a meeting where higher norms and plans were explained that "Bah, this is all humbug."

Many clergymen also shared the fate of arrest and imprisonment. One, Reverend Szabo was recently released and transferred into a village where there are only 34 Hungarian families. As a Roman Catholic priest, his parishioners would come only from the ranks of Transylvanian Hungarians as the Rumanians are Greek Orthodox. Other priests and ministers are only released if in bad health or mental condition.

There were several rumors, especially in 1964 that Russian pressure will force the return of the western frontier strip to Hungary as it has an 80-percent Hungarian population. This caused great excitement among the Hungarians and uneasiness among the Rumanian authorities in the summer of 1964. At Kolto, a Hungarian village the population wanted to demonstrate with Hungarian flags on August 23, 1964, the anniversary of Rumanian turn to the Allies from the Axis Powers in 1944. Not only were heavily armed Rumanian units sent to the village, provoking incidents and executing arrests, but even at Nagybanja (Bala Mare) several battalions of infantry and light artillery was sent from the Russian border. The Rumanians were afraid of a possible Hungarian uprising which they feared would be followed by a Hungarian and Russian intervention.

Upon the improvement of American-Rumanian relations there was absolutely no improvement in the situation of the Hungarian minority, rather it has grown somewhat worse.

As to my personal case, I was immediately heard by the security police upon visiting the American Legation in 1960 for getting my passport. I was almost compelled to work for the security police and spy upon my fellow Hungarians at Nagybanja (Bala Mare), and failed to receive my exit permit until February 25, 1965. Up to the last moment, a war of nerves was conducted against me by the various authorities, locally and nationally. Finally, 2 days before the

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departure, I was forced to sign over my house which was not yet nationalized to the Rumanian state, otherwise I would not receive any exit permit.

AFFIDAVIT

NEW YORK,
June 21, 1965.

I, the undersigned, fully depose and state: Until 1964 I resided in the town of Halmi, Transylvania, which belongs, since 1945, again to Rumania. Therefore, I have firsthand knowledge of the situation in my own area and indirectly in Rumania's western provinces, formerly Transylvania.

First, the amnesty failed to release all the political prisoners of Hungarian ethnic origin in Rumania. I know of several cases myself where the persons are still in prison. In Szatmarnemeti (Satmar) a minister of the Hungarian (D. Szabó) Reformed Church was arrested and sentenced to 20 years in prison in 1949 after having been beaten by the political police for alleged antistate activities. He has not yet been released. His wife is working at the Photographers' Cooperatives at Szatmarnemeti in order to support his family and we were personally acquainted with him. The Vilcsak family gave several priests to the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church. The old Vilcsak, a monsignor, had to leave his ecclesiastical functions in the late 1940's, receives no pension from the state to this day. Out of his three sons, two were arrested in 1949 and sentenced to long prison terms. They have not yet been released either. There are several other cases where I have indirect knowledge in my area of people who have been sentenced for political reasons and are still in prison despite the amnesty.

Second, incidents have often occurred about the use of Hungarian language in public. In Arad, a major city of Transylvania, especially in 1950, there were bloody incidents when Hungarians were beaten up for using their language on the street. The general term for Hungarians by the Communist Rumanians is *bandina* which is stateless, homeless bums.

Third, there is a definite pattern in sending Hungarians with diplomas (earlier they were usually not even allowed to study at the universities except for a small pro-Communist percentage) to purely Rumanian areas in order to further assimilation. I know of several cases in my area. Mr. X, a construction engineer, has received his first job at Bucharest where he is still working; Mr. Y, a medical doctor was transferred upon completion of his studies to Craiova in Muntenia; Mr. Z, a medical doctor, now working in Constanza at the Black Sea; Mr. A, an electrical engineer, transferred to Dorohol, just to mention a few actual cases among my acquaintances. Of course, having been transferred at a young age to purely Rumanian areas, they usually marry Rumanian girls and their children lose their Hungarian ethnic consciousness thereby depriving the Hungarian minority from their natural leaders.

Fourth, in 1950 at the Rumanian-Serb frontier in the Banat which is also an ethnically mixed area which formerly belonged to Hungary, 32 villages were evacuated which had either Hungarian or German population. From the Rumanians only those were deported who had relatives in the Western countries or who were wealthy farmers (*kulaks*). Many of the deportees are still living in the inhospitable climate of Dobruja. They were housed in mud huts and camps and they have to make a living at a land which was always infertile for agriculture. They are still not allowed to travel west of Bucharest or north of Bucharest. They were deported by the military and police with only a small amount of personal goods and their homes and land were given to Rumanian settlers, mostly Communists.

Fifth, a second deportation wave was in 1949 for the construction of the Danube canal south of the Iron Gate. Again, the same elements were deported. Hungarians, Germans who belonged to the middle classes, and some middle-class Rumanians. They were selected from all over Transylvania, usually 8 to 10 people per village or small towns, in order to intimidate the people. They were usually again middle sized and wealthy farmers who were proven guilty of not fulfilling the delivery quotas (arbitrarily high) and taxes (ruinously high). About 80,000 people were deported, over half of them died of diseases and the cold during the winter of 1949-50. Because of the high mortality, the youth of these people were sent in 1950 to finish the canal as labor servicemen, but finally the project was abandoned in 1951 without ever having been completed. Those who survived could come back to their former domiciles, but there were very few.

Sixth, there were many executions in the wake of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 in Transylvania which produced demonstrations in most cities in Transylvania. Martial law was ordered on Kolozsvár (Cluj) and most parts of the "Magyar Autonomous Province" and dozens of people executed under martial law without any trial among the demonstrators.

Seventh, the ethnic distribution of the province is changing. After nationalizing and collectivizing the estates, this was used for promoting Rumanization of certain areas. Rumanian settlers were settled at the former big estates either from the mountain villages or from areas outside of Transylvania and the new villages thus created was given the central administrative organs of the area like the county people's council, school board council, etc.

Eighth, it is true that Hungarian sections in Rumanian schools still exist, but no Hungarian schools as such. Moreover, because of the stringent Rumanian requirements, hardly any student studying in the Hungarian section can compete with the graduates of Rumania schools in entering the universities, thus more and more Hungarians, too, attend the Rumania schools. In case of people working for the state, sending their children to Rumanian schools remains a silent requirement.

Ninth, there is great poverty. This is, of course, true both for Hungarians and Rumanians, except that Hungarians have little chance to move into the cities and become industrial workers whose position is relatively better than those in the agriculture as small trade has been eliminated. The average income of an agriculture collective member, unless he is a Stakhaovite, is about 5 pounds of wheat or 2 quarts of milk in lei equivalent.

Tenth, fear of the secret police is not gone and their methods remain insidious.

There was a case in which a student from Nagyvarad (Oradea) visited Hungary just at the eve of the Hungarian freedom fight of 1956 and subsequently did not return but fled to the West. His friend was pressured by the political police to write to him and try to lure him home so that he could be arrested. When he resisted, he was beaten, lost his job, was transferred in a lower position to Constanza, kept under police surveillance and it took him 6 years to return to his job.

Eleventh, religious life exists insofar as the churches are still open. But the Sundays and holidays are not kept for workers. State employees of white-collar positions cannot really go to church unless they want to lose their jobs, and intellectuals and holders of doctorates, especially teachers, are not only expected to stay away from the churches, but they must exercise antireligious propaganda in order to keep their work.

Attest:

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, Mr. X, fully depose and state:

I lived in Transylvania until the second part of 1964 in the city of Brasov (Brasso) all my life and am well acquainted with the conditions existing in the city and the province both in former times and under the present Communist regime. As a small artisan, I was allowed to function despite many harassments, and never joined the Communist Party.

Since the detachment of the districts of Haromszek (Treischaune) from the "Autonomous Province" there is practically no possibility for the Hungarians to move from these districts into the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province. In the latter, local administration remains Hungarian only in purely Hungarian villages where hardly anyone speaks Rumanian. However, the police in the towns and cities and much of the local administration is Rumanian, only a minority Hungarian and even those belong to the Communist Party and promote the aims of the Rumanian Communists. In the Autonomous Region economic progress is minimal. The industrial planning of the Communist Rumanian Government consciously avoids the creation of new plants in that province. Therefore, there is a considerable manpower surplus which is lured both by the promises of better wages and housing into the other provinces and outside Transylvania, where the population is Rumanian. Even in the Autonomous Province, but especially in the province of Brasov, there were fights between Hungarians and Rumanians. In 1963 such bloody fights occurred in three villages, Csikszentkiraly (A.P.), Madaras, and Vereben (P. Brasov). Of these I have personal knowledge from people who were friends of mine and lived in these villages. In one case the casualties among the Hungarian population amounted to half of the population in the village. Despite Communist rule, illegal arms are present.

While there is little religious freedom, the position of the Orthodox Church is definitely better than those of the Catholics or Protestants. The Orthodox Church remains strongly Rumanian nationalist. It still has contact with the youth mostly by visits to the home on the pretext of "collecting the tithe."

Even the Communist decrees and papers in the Autonomous Province are regarded as invalid in other provinces if written in Hungarian despite the constitutional guarantees. One specific example I have seen myself in the employment office where I had to go in 1963 as my artisan shop was closed down by the state. A Hungarian lad came from one of the villages of the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province bringing a statement from the local council secretary that the collective farm does not need him he may go and take a job somewhere else. The employment office wanted to throw him out just because the paper was in Hungarian.

Once Hungarians have moved to territories outside of Transylvania (Bucharest, Moldavia, Muntenia) there is no possibility to receive permission to return to Transylvania. My sister tried to get back from Bucharest to Brasov after divorcing her husband, but despite appeals to high levels, even including Gheorghiu-Dej, she got nowhere. Rather I received a visit by the militia in my shop and they "proved" that I do not have the housing for her, though I had 2 room, kitchen apartment, not small under Russian housing conditions. Finally she was given an apartment and good position, but in Bucharest. Bucharest has grown tremendously, including the suburbs, it has 1.8 million people, of which about 200,000 to 250,000 must be Hungarian.

Hungarians who want to move from the villages into the cities in Transylvania ex-

perience grave difficulties in getting residency permits. In most cases they are turned down unless they have some special skill in industry that is badly needed. There is one exception, however. The nationalized warehouses, restaurants, department stores they all need workers for loading stuff and dishwashing. In these positions Hungarians are hired. However, they do not receive full residency permit, but only a temporary one for 3 months. Of course, they are allowed to stay informally sometimes for years, but once in awhile a new ordinance forces them to leave, like one in 1963. The hospitals of the Autonomous Province and of Province Brasov are full with Moldavian mothers who come to the hospitals to have their babies born in Transylvania, claiming to be native Transylvanians later on. Next to warehouseworkers, dishwashers and servants, Hungarian girls are still often used as maids, but not in industry where Rumanians from Moldavia (the least cultured of all Rumanians) are preferred. The number of Moldavian Rumanians in southeastern Transylvania is so numerous and their share in management so high that many Transylvanian Rumanians also resent their coming and taking over together with the Hungarians of Transylvania.

Community relations between Hungarians and Rumanians in Brasso (Brasov) are inadequate. Incidents are numerous, especially as the Hungarian workers also like alcohol (wine). On June 14, 1964, at one of the favorite walks Rumanians tried to trample over some Hungarians by sheer numerical strength, but the Hungarians drew knives, and finally were arrested by the police.

According to prevalent rumors, Prime Minister Groza did not die a natural death but was shot to death by Minister Stephan Bodnarus in 1957. He was the last one to defend the Hungarian minority in the Communist regime as he was educated in Hungary and spoke the language though he was Rumanian.

In 1956 there was considerable unrest in the area during the Hungarian revolution. There was still some illegal arms in the hands of the population especially among Rumanians. The regime was actively arming its officials fearing full-scale revolt (example of Kovaszna). Retaliation against any signs of unrest is still very strict. In Sepsiszentgyorgy formerly Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province, now Province of Brasov) there is a statue depicting a Rumanian shepherd as a war hero. Some teenagers brought some corn bread to the statue during the night. The police officer sent to investigate the affair was a Hungarian and finally he had to arrest among others his own son. All the juveniles were sent to long term prison.

The amnesty did not cover everyone. The Catholic priest at Vasvar has already been arrested seven times, usually released for a while because he is very fragile and sick. His chaplain, Gabor Borbely, is still in prison. At the Catholic rectory in Brasov there are only five priests working, two of them are over 80 years of age. Four others are still in prison. One of the chaplains was arrested while traveling to Hosszufalu to substitute for another priest and only the people who found his motorcycle told the parish priest that he had been arrested; the police did not even inform him. The high school professors who were arrested have not been released by the amnesty either.

In 1959, after the forced merger of the Bolyai University at Kolozsvar (Cluj) with the Rumanian Babes University, the chief Communist personnel officer of the University (a Hungarian) secretly composed a memorandum which was to be sent to the United Nations and another was to be sent to the Rumanian Communists Government. The affair was betrayed and the police

moved in and the process involved 40 professors and several hundred students. Among those arrested was an acquaintance of mine, Professor Ivanescu, Rumanian by name, Hungarian by language and feeling. In 1961, after being released, he again tried to bring a group together to protest; he was arrested again. He was sentenced to 18 years in prison. An interesting sideline is that if you want to attend a process of criminal character, you have to pay 2000 lei for an invitation, even if you are the wife or parent of the defendant.

As to Hungarian representation in the Rumanian Communist Party, Moghioros is a Hungarian gypsy, and he did not get in because he speaks Hungarian, but because he worked with Gheorghiu-Dej in the inter-war period as an illegal Communist. There is only one important deputy, Farkas, in the Grand National Assembly.

Generally, the number of gypsies from Moldavia increased greatly in Transylvania. There were brought in originally between 1940-51 when the middleclass people and richer farmers were deported to the Dobrudja area. But they sold the animals, did not grow anything and some of them were deported back to Moldavia as the Saxons were allowed to return to their land. There is a steady influx of Rumanians from provinces outside of Transylvania into Brasso (Brasov). According to information received by a police officer who had access to the vital statistics of the city, only between 1962-64 30,000 people moved to Brasov from these areas. Brasso (Brasov) still had a large Hungarian population, but the growth of the Rumanian part is very quick. I believe, however, that there are still about 40 percent Hungarians in the city, though the official statistics only show 14 percent.

The city has been progressing industrially at a fast rate. There are not less than 2,700 factories and plants in the city, and its population amounts, inclusive of the suburbs, to 150,000. But even from Brasso (Brasov) many important plants were transferred into Muntenia.

Educationally, in the Hungarian sections the instruction is mostly in Hungarian, but every day there is instruction in Rumanian as well which includes also composition. Many Hungarians are sending their children into Rumanian sections, both because of the paucity of places in the Hungarian sections and in order to qualify them for college entrance examination. It is very hard for Hungarian students to enter universities. One friend thought that it would be easier to register at the Moldavian University of Iasy where there were less applicants. He asked that he should pass the entrance test in Hungarian language as the law permits him to do so, if he went to the Hungarian section of the high school. Despite some support from Rumanian fellow students the administration refused his admission or to administer the test in Hungarian.

After the Hungarian revolution, Hungarian freedom fighters were transported by the Red army through Transylvania and Muntenia into the U.S.S.R. A Rumanian customs official with the railroad, Mr. A, who himself was a member of the Communist Party, heard the cries for help of Hungarian freedom fighters who were transported in oil tanks near Brasso (Brasov). He was shooed away by the Russian guards.

Generally, the population is fed up with the regime, and the Hungarian minority is both afraid and bitter. Even the Transylvanian Rumanians are opposed to the regime, though they might like some of its actions. The regime is actively fanning the flames of hatred between Hungarians and Rumanians so as to divide the opposition. Hungarian youth are hired by the police and given residency permits if they volunteer to quell

fight and unrest among Rumanians in the city. At least such is the case in Brasso (Brasov). In several instances, instead of the police, they were used to clear up fights at dances and drinking bouts, not endearing the Hungarians to the Rumanians. The regime is following a divide et impera policy toward the Rumanians and Hungarians. By suppressing the Hungarian minority it tries to appeal to Rumanian chauvinism, while using Hungarian youth for restoring order against Rumanians, it fans the flames of nationality hatred.

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, Mr. D. fully depose and say:

In the spring of 1965, I visited my relatives in Kolozsvar (Cluj) in Transylvania, now part of the People's Republic of Rumania and traveled in other areas (Brasov, Bucarest) as well. My observations based on my own experiences and on information received from relatives and close friends is as follows:

First, there is considerable feeling of despair among the Hungarians in Transylvania, especially the younger generation which feels that it is deprived from the better positions in society by both Communist and Rumanian pressures. They complain about constant discrimination in the field of wages, not even the rates set by the Communist trade union councils are paid in full to Hungarians (in one case someone has been promised in writing 2,000 lei a month, and he receives only 800 lei, and when he protested to his immediate boss he was told to keep quiet or he will be fired and not receive any comparable job anywhere). Not too long ago, in the construction business one Hungarian worker, at a trade union meeting agitated for higher wages, he was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison.

Second, the situation of Hungarians in the cities is steadily deteriorating. Kolozsvar (Cluj) was a basically Hungarian city even as late as 1945. Today, the city's population has grown by leaps and bounds and the newcomers are Rumanians from the neighboring countryside. The former agricultural areas where vegetable gardens were maintained by Hungarians on the outskirts of the city, have been built up with new apartment houses and college dormitories and schools. The impression one gets from the city during the day that it is a city of pupils and students. Now, there is a new move to bring into the new apartment developments 17,000 Rumanian and Serb families (there are practically no Serbs in the city, at this time) from the Danube island of Adakale south of the Iron Gate. At the same time, the Hungarian areas in the city are not even given repair material and the houses are becoming more and more slumlike for lack of repair. It is impossible for young Hungarians who are getting married to get any housing in the city. In one instance this happened with my family, and among friends I have seen several instances with my own eyes, not to speak about the cases I heard. And these are people who work for state enterprises. There is also considerable waste in the new city planning. Junkyards and dumps are in many instances where vegetable gardens run by Hungarians were a decade ago. The housing situation creates many individual tragedies. In one case a woman (middle-class) who owned a large house before and was left only with one room after the brutal beating of the police killed her husband in the fifties, had to threaten murder in order to keep even that one room for her and her son, and the stories could be multiplied in innumerable cases.

To my knowledge, there are no Hungarian high schools and elementary schools in Kolozsvar (Cluj) or other cities which I have

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visited. Anyone working for state enterprises in any white collar capacity, does not dare send his children to the Hungarian section lest he loses his job as a disloyal person to "Greater Rumania" as the People's Republic is again called in the vernacular. Even in the Hungarian section, this I know from children of friends, the instruction is 50 percent in Rumanian and 50 percent in Hungarian, while it is all Rumanian in the Rumanian section. As to the libraries, I have not visited any, but information given by people whom I know states that in many cases, Hungarian school and college libraries were closed down and the books either destroyed or are stored in cellars.

As to the use of the Hungarian language, there were many cases of discrimination which I noticed. That is, in the train between Bucharest and Brasov, a Hungarian family conversed in the compartment in Hungarian. After a few minutes, one Rumanian protested, called the conductor and the family had to leave. At a Transylvanian city, I had to send a telegram to Hungary and wrote out the text in Hungarian. The telegram office refused to accept it. I had to pay 10 lei for having it translated into Rumanian, and the addressee in Hungary had to find someone who understands Rumanian to decipher my telegram announcing my arrival at a certain time. At Csikszereida, in the so-called Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province all train and railroad personnel insisted on talking Rumanian to me, despite the fact that they all spoke fluent Hungarian and refused to answer my questions why they speak Rumanian when they are Hungarians. There seems to be a percentage limit for employing Hungarians, too, roughly 20 percent in state enterprises which works a hardship especially in the cities and the "Autonomous Province."

The cities are special targets of Rumanization. Young people who have some diploma are sent to the countryside, for their job assignment and the new factories are filled with Rumanians immigrating to the cities. In the autonomous province there is practically no industrial development. Finally, a lumber combinat was to be established in the former county of Csik (Cluj) and everyone assumed that the lumber yard and furniture factories will also be located in some city within the autonomous province as economic geography would have demanded it. No, finally these factories were to be located in the mixed town of Segesvar (Sigisoara) in the province of Brasov, which is mostly Rumanian, in order to encourage the Szekelys to emigrate from the autonomous province. Outside the autonomous province, the pressure on Hungarians is even greater, as I could notice during my stay in Brasov (Brasov). There is also a ban on more than two people standing on the street talking (like it would be if martial law were to be declared). In one case, two Hungarians met a third one in Kolozsvár a few years ago going to work in the morning, and the third one greeted them and added, "I'm doing well, I hope that this will not last long." (He meant the regime.) He was arrested and sentenced for 8 years in prison. Sometimes even Rumanians are victims of the capriciousness of Communist rule. A former Rumanian police officer was arrested in the early fifties, he still does not know really why, and served 6 years in prison.

As to the deportees, even those who survived are not allowed back to their former domiciles. Usually, they are allowed to remain in the eastern provinces of Rumania outside Transylvania. This is often due with young veterans who served their stay in the army. They are assigned for work outside of Transylvania. Much of the construction gangs still consist of prisoners. I have seen personally several construction gangs in Kolozsvár (Cluj) which were working while guards were guarding them.

Religious life is still present, the churches are relatively full, though older people predominate. However, even the alms given at the church must be counted and turned over to the state on the grounds that the state is paying the salaries of the priests and ministers. I have seen in one church after the service this process to take place with my own eyes. The sermons are held in a way that nothing could be misinterpreted by informers as being against the regime and in most cases peace priests are in charge of ecclesiastical positions. There has been great pressure upon the priests and ministers in the various localities to join the cooperatives (kolhozes). According to reliable information received, 228 priests and ministers have been arrested in the last 2 years on the ground that they refused to join the cooperatives and are still kept in prison at Dezs (Dej) and Szamosujvar in the province of Kolozsvár (Cluj). The ministers and priests argued that they were only salaried employees of their churches and could not by themselves decide on this question.

The introduction of the Communist cooperatives were executed both for Hungarians and Rumanians with utmost Communist brutality. Many instances were recounted, but I am sure that they are known as they follow the same pattern as in other Communist states.

Even emigration remains a game of the state. Normal procedure takes long years; the only way of getting passport for emigration is possible through bribes to a certain black-market gang in Kolozsvár, Bucharest, or in Budapest itself. The charge is about \$3,000 per person. Needless to say that the people who want to emigrate cannot afford this, so their relatives in the free world, particularly the United States or Western Europe, are blackmailed this way, which is a good means of getting both personal profit and hard currency for the state.

The Rumanization of the cities is not restricted to Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Brasov (Brasov), but takes place also in Nagyaarad (Oradea) and Temesvar (Timisoara) and other cities in Transylvania according to people with whom I talked from these cities. The patterns are the same: new apartment houses built on the outskirts, thereby eliminating the Hungarian vegetable and fruit gardeners, importation of Rumanian workers and engineers and civil servants from the countryside, refusal to allow Hungarians to receive flats in the new housing projects, dispersion of the Hungarian youth, especially the professionals from the cities.

Rumania is still a police state; there are few personal freedoms for anyone. However, there exists, in addition, an economic, linguistic, and residential discrimination against the Hungarians in employment, schools, religion, and other fields. This is the only conclusion to be drawn from my visit. Rumanian nationalism is growing stronger, mainly expressed in renewed pressure against the Hungarian minority. The use of the term "Greater Rumania" and the incidents to which the use of Hungarian at public transportation, and on the street can lead are clear evidence, not counting the official, largely centrally directed discrimination.

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, fully depose and state: Housing conditions are very difficult. Lack of repair material and financial resources make repairs on older homes almost impossible. Suburbs are being built up at the outskirts, new apartment buildings. However, only Rumanians are given homes and flats in them. Even good class cadres of Hungarian nationality are not permitted to settle in the cities, thus proving that national rather than political considerations

are given precedence. There is not one street sign in any of the cities in Hungarian. This is very strange as even in the Soviet Union (Subcarpathian Ruthenia) street signs are printed in Hungarian areas in Ukrainian and Hungarian. The cities in Transylvania, Szekelyudvarhely (Odorhel), Nagyaarad (Oradea) and Kolozsvár (Cluj) are showing an increasingly Rumanian character, as a result of forced Rumanization. Even in the so-called Magyar Autonomous Region, officials of the area are afraid to talk Hungarian, even if they are of Hungarian nationality. Thus, purely Hungarian areas look like they would be inhabited by Rumanians. This is, of course, more true from those cities where importation of Rumanian workers and engineers have changed the ethnic balance. Also in all the cities civil servants and police officials were brought in the 1950's and 1960's from non-Hungarian areas and, of course, they are of Rumanian nationality.

There is an industrial and economic discrimination against the Hungarian areas in Transylvania in the course of Rumanian Communist industrialization. At Szekelyudvarhely (Odorhel) there are no new plants and factories, and the same is true for Csikszereida, both in the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region. Therefore, people are often compelled to move outside of the Autonomous Region to find jobs. They settle either in the former Old Kingdom (Muntania) or in the Rumanian areas like Brassó (Brasov) and Segesvar (Sigisoara). As a result, an increasing number of Szekely-Magyar people live now in completely Rumanian areas. To aggravate the situation, in 1961 several purely Hungarian districts of the Autonomous Region were attached to the overwhelmingly Rumanian province of Brassó (Brasov).

For professionals and often even for skilled workers who have no opportunity to work in Hungarian areas, jobs are promised and offered in purely Rumanian areas outside of Transylvania. They are even offered bonuses and once they take advantage of the offer, they are bound under Communist labor law, to remain in their new positions outside of Transylvania. This promotes assimilation into the Rumanian majority and deprives the creation of an educated leadership for the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. I have seen many individual instances of workers recruited into Rumanian areas and talked to them when they were leaving from their villages and towns for the Rumanian areas outside of Transylvania.

There is very little Hungarian cultural life. There is no nationwide Hungarian cultural organization. At Kolozsvár (Cluj) the Hungarian National Theater which also housed the Opera House was requisitioned by the Rumanian authorities and now serves as the Rumanian Opera House. At a side street, at a culture hall, there still exists a small Hungarian theater. There are no daily performances, only twice a week or sometimes only twice a month. The plays performed are mostly Hungarian translations of Rumanian playwrights, therefore they serve no Hungarian cultural purpose, but only a further dissemination of Rumanian culture among the Hungarians of Transylvania. At Turgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) capital of the autonomous region, the Hungarian Theater, which until 1960 had only performances in Hungarian now, now serves as a merged Rumanian-Hungarian theater where only twice a week are still plays in Hungarian performed, on the other days only in Rumanian. There is no Actors Academy in Transylvania in Hungarian language, and therefore there is no supply for Hungarian artists. There is practically no Hungarian literature, only translations of Communist Rumanian authors and classics. Even Petöfi is disliked among the Rumanian authorities.

There were many arrests in the wake of the Hungarian Revolution in Transylvania, and

some were shot right at the demonstrations which took place in the first days of November 1956 in Hungarian areas of Transylvania. Martial law was introduced and large military units were sent into the Hungarian areas. Close friends of mine reported of executions and also of deportations to prisons of large numbers of people. Some of them died in prison, others showed up after the amnesty, but nobody knew in the meantime whether they were imprisoned or dead. They were held incommunicado.

In Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Szatmárnémeti (Satmar) areas, in the state teachers college even in the Hungarian sections only the Hungarian language is being taught in Hungarian.

These conclusions are based upon my recent trip to Rumania where I have visited several Transylvania cities, including Kolozsvár (Cluj), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Székelyudvarhely (Odorhei), Székelykeresztúr, Turgu Mures (Marosvásárhely).

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, Mr. Q., hereby fully depose and state:

1. During 1964, I visited my birthplace, Transylvania, now part of the so-called People's Republic of Rumania. As we arrived at the border, we found a fortified guardhouse on the Rumanian side and another one was being built by about two dozen Hungarian prisoners under the watchful eyes of a Rumanian armed guard who had a mounted bayonet on his gun. As we were held up for 3½ hours before being allowed to proceed, we tried to talk to the workmen but the guard drove them away from us shouting insults (scat, damn Hungarians) in Rumanian.

2. At Nagyvárad (Oradea), a good sized city with a predominantly Hungarian population (near the Hungarian-Rumanian border), we purchased a roadmap in order to know our way to Kolozsvár (Cluj) the capital of Transylvania. Several towns on the way were not listed on the map, and they all turned out to be the Hungarian-inhabited localities, while a small Rumanian town was listed on it. I still do not know for what purpose the three towns with Hungarian population were not listed on such a neutral means as a roadmap.

3. At Kolozsvár (Cluj) we had difficulty at the hotel. The manager pretended not to have our reservation that we cabled from Budapest. Finally we had to make the rounds at other hotels and only a call from the tourist bureau secured us the original reservation. Apparently, we were told the manager of the hotel wanted an extra bribe for refreshing his memory. As our car stopped in front of the hotel, scores of Hungarian people surrounded our car with floods of questions about America. Finally Rumanian police arrived and drove the questioners away.

4. The next day we took to the road again. The road was in good condition until we arrived at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) from there the road became impossible for 50 miles. Our car was used as a road roller as 2-inch rocks were spread on the road and never rolled down by any machine. Our new tires looked like rags when we had arrived at Arad. From here the road was good again until Temesvár (Timisoara). There we had no trouble with the hotel. In the streets we talked to Hungarian people. They first looked around whether anyone is watching them and talked in hushed voices and were definitely surprised that we dare to talk Hungarian clear and loud. The people were predominantly Hungarian and German. The following day the authorities planted a guide into our car for whom we had to pay \$9 a day. During our rides in the city we have seen many queues standing in front of bakeries and butcher shops for bread and meat.

We also visited Resica in southwestern part of Transylvania. Here an industrial complex is located as the region is rich in mineral resources. Within a few square miles there are iron ore, gold, and coal veins and plenty of water usable for hydroelectric energy. The Rumanians boasted of their new apartment project consisting of about forty 4- to 5-story-high buildings, the flats usually had one or two bedrooms in them. We even visited the project and went to the roof garden via a rickety elevator as the project is used for attracting tourists. After leaving the project we talked to several local people who insisted that we listen to them. They told us that the Rumanian People's Army used Hungarian and German inductees with a few Rumanian admixtures (anti-Communists) for building the project. The men were put in tents and handed the tools for construction. They worked in all seasons sleeping in their tents most of the time with their clothes on, living on a meager diet of dried salted fish, cornmeal and dry beans. When the project was completed they were discharged without any pay whatsoever, even though they worked for nearly a year. How can the free world close its eyes to such inhuman acts when negotiating with the Bucharest government? The veracity of the Resica story may be easily established. The project was completed in 1962 and the American Legation could find out the details without difficulty.

It is tragically unfortunate that I dare not to use my name in signing this affidavit, as my relatives would be hunted down and persecuted by the Rumanians in Transylvania. But I am willing, if necessary to confirm under oath the above statements in absolute secrecy and without showing my face.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of July, 1965.

LILLIAN L. BRINKLEY,
Notary Public in and for the County of
Los Angeles, State of California.

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, Miss L, fully depose and state:

1. During 1963, I visited Rumania, particularly southeastern Transylvania, where I had at that time, my aunt living. During my trip, I resided mostly in areas with substantial Hungarian and German population.

2. My experience was that no political and linguistic freedoms were granted to Hungarians. Even the use of the language was a risky business in public and people were afraid of secret police agents and agent provocateurs who would denounce both the fact that they talked in Hungarian and also the contents of the conversations, if by any chance unfriendly toward the regime. Looking over your shoulder before starting to talk, while talking and after finishing the conversation, was commonplace in the villages and towns I have visited.

3. In the schools, Rumanian sections were introduced even in overwhelmingly Hungarian areas in the usually Rumanian-administered schools. In one village, Szilagy-nagyfalu (Nasfalau), the parents were told that they are incorrigible chauvinists who should be punished because they asked the teacher to teach Hungarian spelling to their sons and daughters in the Rumanian section. Not alone the parents had to fear repressalia, but the still Hungarian nationality principal was immediately removed and replaced by the Rumanian teacher who had refused to let the children learn Hungarian spelling.

4. Oppression of the Hungarian minority follows the fight against "bourgeois nationalism" of which the Hungarians are accused. Yet, whatever nationalist protests they occasionally make, these are preceded by individual or organized Rumanian Communist measures against the rights and life of the Hungarian minority. For example, they do not have any organizations left which

could any more protest, even the pro-Communist Hungarian Workers' Front was dissolved as early as 1951 and there is not even a statewide cultural organization. The depression of the Hungarian minority is an undeniable fact. I met a professor of languages at Kolozsvár who would have liked to emigrate to Communist Hungary "even as a member of a farm collective" only to escape the slow, but inevitable elimination of Hungarian culture and the oppression of his brethren by the Rumanian Communists.

5. The deportations of 1948-49 were recounted to me by many friends of my family, even the fact that in some cases the younger sons and daughters were not even allowed to finish their elementary and high school studies, but had to live in mountain villages from the generosity of Rumanian and Hungarian peasants, and cannot return even today to any city, or their former abodes. They were often Rumanized, but in any case are working in the lowest paid jobs.

6. I had several acquaintances and friends of the family who managed to complete their studies and entered either civil service or a technical career.

All of these except one was assigned to areas outside of Transylvania, or in one case to a purely Rumanian area within the region. Mr. X, a medical doctor is working in Sinala in a hospital, Mr. Y, a civil engineer lives in Brailia which is overwhelmingly Rumanian, but still in Transylvania, Mr. A, a mechanical engineer to Bucharest as was Mr. B also a medical doctor.

7. The situation of the churches was very dismal. Except for old women and old men, the region still discourages actively attendance of religious services, especially among the youth and those working for the state in better positions. The pressure upon ministers to send their children to Rumania sections of the schools was increasing and they are threatened with processes on the basis of their sermons if they fail to take the warning and act accordingly. My relatives told me that many priests and ministers, including the ones in the town where my aunt lived (Lutheran) is still in prison. In another town, even the Hungarian Calvinist (Reformed) minister is sending his child to Rumanian section (area of Kolozsvár (Cluj)).

In general, the people were feeling let down both by the West and by the Communist Hungarian Government. This feeling depressed them just as much as the discriminatory actions of the Rumanian Communist Government. Relations between Hungarians and Rumanians on an individual basis varied from very good to hostile, but on the official level there was outspoken hostility by the officials against the Hungarian minority.

New York, July 11, 1965.

P.S.—As I still have relatives living in Transylvania, please do not use my name in the publication of this testimony, but refer to me as Miss X.

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned, Mr. Z., fully depose and state:

1. In 1964, I had the opportunity to visit Rumania, particularly Transylvania which earlier belonged fully or in part to Hungary. Among the cities and towns I visited in 1964 were Nagyvárad (Oradea), Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare), Kolozsvár (Cluj), the capital of Transylvania, Csikszereida (Mercuria Cluc) in the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province and several smaller towns in the same.

2. My most obvious observation was the presence of an increasing number of Rumanian residents and officials in the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province as compared to my last visit in 1960. The village of Batot could be selected as a prime example,

but the observation holds true in other villages and towns as well. The incoming Rumanians were usually not from the neighboring counties and mountains, but many of them were originally residents of Bessarabia which now belongs to the U.S.S.R. and even of Dobrudja. Evidently both the Szatmarnemeti (Satu Mare) and the Autonomous Province are being used as new settlement areas for these groups of Rumanians. There is also a prevalence of gypsies from the old Rumanian Provinces.

In 1960, in the Autonomous Province and at Kolozsvar (Cluj) the street signs and highway signs for the places were still bilingual, in Rumanian and Hungarian. Today I have hardly come across even one bilingual sign and the officials everywhere in the Autonomous Province insist upon carrying on their business in Rumanian, even if they know Hungarian.

3. The school situation is showing signs of further deterioration. At the village of Kiralydaroc where there was instruction purely in Hungarian in the grade school (except for Rumanian language and literature) today the subjects are taught even in the Hungarian section almost 50 percent in Rumanian. Many students even in the Rumanian section (where no Hungarian is taught at all), are sons and daughters of ethnic Hungarians who are sending their children to the Rumanian section either because there is no place left for them in the Hungarian sections (this often includes students with excellent grades) or in order to escape official pressure against them (if the parents are professionals working for the state). The instruction staff in this village is still mostly Hungarian, but even the Hungarian teachers have to teach in Rumanian in the Rumanian section and in two languages in the Hungarian one.

4. I heard several stories of young Hungarian professionals especially engineers and medical doctors of being transferred to outside of Transylvania. In the village I also visited and where I have many friends, one young doctor was also transferred to Dobrudja.

5. Hungarians have an extremely hard time if they want to move into the cities of Transylvania which until recently had Hungarian majorities. Only if there is a great shortage in their particular skill will they be let in to settle, even marrying a local girl or having a job waiting in the city alone does not qualify them to receive settlement permits.

6. My general impression was that the situation of the Hungarians in Transylvania is considerably worse than in 1960. The Rumanian regime takes the position that it cannot trust the Hungarians since they showed their dislike of the regime in 1956. The promotion of Hungarians in jobs is showing that they are discriminated against as few Hungarians reach higher managerial positions and/or are let in management and technical special schools and courses. The pay is often lower than their Rumanian co-workers and even the latter hardly receive a living wage, especially in agriculture.

New York, July 17, 1965.

P.S.—As I do have relatives in Transylvania and plan to visit again please do not use my name in any publication of the present material and refer to me only as Mr. Z.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 143) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Whereas the Government of Rumania is engaging in a deliberate policy of discrimination against the Hungarian minority popu-

lation under its jurisdiction in educational, cultural, economic, linguistic, and administrative fields; and

Whereas this discrimination is clearly contrary to commonly accepted principles of international law and justice; and

Whereas, in accordance with the provisions of the 1947 Peace Treaty, the Government of Rumania undertook the obligation to grant the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all persons within her territorial and sovereign jurisdiction without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

Whereas the International Commission of Jurists has reported the occurrence of numerous instances of discrimination on the part of the Government of Rumania against the Hungarian minority population in Transylvania: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the U.S. Senate that the discriminatory practices perpetrated by the Government of Rumania against the Hungarian minority peoples be condemned.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is an honor to cosponsor Senate Resolution 143, which would put the Senate on record as condemning the systematic discrimination being practiced against the Hungarian minority in Rumania.

As I noted on an earlier occasion, this minority is gradually being merged out of existence as a cultural entity. In defiance of Rumania's own constitution, these Hungarians are being forced to loosen their ties with their schools and universities, traditions and language. The former autonomous Hungarian region within Rumania has been broken up so that its intellectual and political leaders could be replaced by Rumanians. And Hungarian professionals have been scattered into overwhelmingly Rumanian inhabited territories.

The resolution I am cosponsoring takes fitting and proper notice, I believe, of these tragic developments.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to join this distinguished group of Senators in sponsoring the resolution introduced by the able Senator from New Jersey. The resolution speaks eloquently for itself. It lays before the public the "deliberate policy of discrimination against the Hungarian minority population" practice by the Communist government of Rumania. I compliment the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] for introducing this resolution and I thank him for including me as a cosponsor.

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, it gives me a real pleasure to join my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] in cosponsoring his resolution on the question of continued discrimination and oppression of the 1.75 million Hungarian minority in the now Rumanian province of Transylvania.

The Rumanian people, whether of Rumanian, Hungarian or Saxon origin, have suffered much in the past 20 years under a very oppressive Communist regime which until 1962 acted as the most trustworthy servant of Stalin, Malenkov and Khrushchev. Even today, the thaw in regard to economic relations with the West and the noncommitted world has not been paralleled in the domestic sphere to any significant degree. We just have to read the reports of well-

known American correspondents like George Bailey from the Reporter and David Binder from the New York Times to find ample documentation.

The special target of Communist persecution since 1957 has been the Hungarian minority in Transylvania as such. In this connection, I am not talking about political freedom alone. This is absent both for the Hungarian minority and the Rumanian majority as Rumania is a one-party Communist dictatorship. Free elections, of course, are not permissible in such a country, and the right of dissent is restricted to faithful Communists who may criticize some detail but always praise the basic ideological line of the party.

Rather, I am talking about the right to earn a living, to receive housing accommodations, to speak one's mother tongue and to have schools in which a working knowledge of the mother tongue and its literature could be retained, a language which has been spoken in Transylvania for over a millennium.

Yet the Hungarian-inhabited areas of Transylvania, with the exception of a few cities in the center and the south, are economically exploited and used as the colonial raw material base for the Rumanian industry which is progressing rapidly. Take the growth of the cities, for example. The growth ratios of most Hungarian-inhabited cities and major towns, Oradea—Nagyvarad; Satu Mare—Szatmarnemeti; Carol—Nagykaroly; Odorhei—Szekelyudvarhely; and Turgu Mures—Marosvasarhely—are small, in some cases infinitesimal if compared to 1945-48. Among them new industry was only established in Turgu Mures—Marosvasarhely—but even this was in the form of a furniture plant and food processing factory, despite the city's ideal location for the exploitation of the nearby Sarmasu—Kissarmas—natural gas wells. The story of the development of the chemical industries based on the Sarmasu—Kissarmas—gasfields disproves the often heard comment that the lack of industrialization is not planned neglect but a consequence of natural forces and assets.

The Sarmasu—Kissarmas—wells were exploited since the 1930's, but in the late fifties new fields were found rendering the establishment of major chemical industries possible. Salt and electricity were the other needed ingredients, as was sufficient manpower. Salt was mined at at least three sites, about 35 to 45 miles from the wells. Electricity could be gained from the many rivers coming from the Carpathian Mountains if dams were to be built. The Turgu Mures—Marosvasarhely area of the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province" was a chronic unemployment area with considerable labor surplus.

What happened, however? Despite their shortage on investment funds for ambitious chemical projects, the Communist Government built the chemical plants 40 miles east from Transylvania, in the province of Moldavia, at Onesti. In economic and engineering terms it meant: the erection and construction of a 200-to-250 mile, 26-inch diameter pipeline to transport the gas from Sar-

masu—Kissarmas—to Onesta over terrain which alternates between 600 and 2,500 feet, crossing two major mountain chains. It also meant that a complete new town had to be built which now has 60,000 inhabitants. Moreover, the dam was also built about 15 miles east of Transylvania at the Bistritz River, but the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region" receives no energy help either from the gas wells or from the hydroelectric plants. Needless to say the labor surplus problem remains.

While the cost efficiency problems arising from the decision must have been almost insurmountable for the Communist Government, the sociological consequences apparently overrode their hesitations. For the existing labor surplus in an almost completely agricultural area cannot remain there indefinitely. Migration of the youth to other, more industrialized areas would be natural even without governmental encouragement. But in Rumania, those Hungarians who volunteer for jobs outside of Transylvania are usually given a better position, slightly better pay and an apartment which is at a premium. If the person is a university or college graduate, he does not even have a chance, his first job will be located outside of Transylvania. This forced-migration deprives the Hungarians of its intellectually and economically most advanced layers which layer would form its natural leadership.

Further examples could be added in the case of the caolin mines in the Harghita Mountains where the material is transported by trucks over hardly existing roads 100 miles away to Sigisora—Segesvar—in order to avoid the creation of new industries in the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province and many other cases of neglect near the western border of Rumania. Industrialization is not the only field of discrimination. Accepting only a small percentage of the students applying for university studies or for specialization courses in technology form another way to close the avenues of self-improvement and economic power to the Hungarians. A decade ago, the vocational and technical schools were attended mostly by Hungarians and Saxons, and the professors are still mostly Hungarian. But in 1965 only 15 to 20 percent of the names were Hungarian. The number of Hungarian students even at the merged university of Bolyai-Babes at Kolozsvár—Cluj—and the medical college at Turgu Mures—Marosvasarhely—is less than one-third of the Rumanian student body and in the only still existing teachers college where Hungarian is taught as a language of instruction, only 40 percent of the students are Hungarian as of this September.

The trade unions which are servants of the Communist state also prefer the Rumanian workers. Promotion, seniority rights, sometimes even the payment of the salary determined by the factory council is problematical to Hungarian skilled workers and engineers, unless they are card-carrying, loyal members of the Rumanian Communist Party.

As a result the proletarianization of the

Hungarians is making frightening progress. While the still extant or upcoming technical and intellectual elite is scattered into Rumanian regions or finds its own cities heavily Rumanized by newcomers from Moldavia, the rural population lives in abject poverty. The daily wage of the collective farms is about 3 to 4 lei, the equivalent of 2 to 3 pounds of bread. It is true that the Rumanian peasant is not paid better either, but he can escape the penury and become an industrial worker, or educate himself to become a white-collar worker in the cities. These choices are not open to the Hungarian youth except for hard-core Communists who actively participate in the discrimination against their own fellow minority members.

Hungarians are also refused residency permits in the Transylvanian cities. While officially the argument is to avoid slum areas by migration, this measure does not exclude the construction of subdivisions of apartment houses for Rumanian newcomers. Hungarians, if at all, are only allowed to come temporarily as servants, dishwashers, maids, or chauffeurs to the Communist bosses or the new Rumanian managerial elite. Otherwise they must remain on the farms, or in the small towns.

In turn, Rumanians from outside Transylvania or from the mountain regions are settled in the cities. They are often met with resentment even by the native Rumanian population of Transylvania which has a higher economic and cultural standard than their brethren from Moldavia.

The story could be continued indefinitely. The reason for the Communist Rumanian policy is based in part on Communist ideological theses. For many members of the Hungarian minority—some Rumanians also—demonstrated in 1956 in favor of the Hungarian freedom fighters in Hungary. Therefore, they are regarded as potentially or actually disloyal by the regime which wrought bloody retaliation on them in 1956–57. In part, it is also a way for the regime to gain support about the extreme nationalist elements by blaming the failures on the Hungarians at home and the Russians abroad while keeping the Communist regime as intact and odious as ever. The Hungarians serve now as scapegoats as the Jews did to the Iron Guard in Rumania before World War II.

Mr. President, it is of great importance that the U.S. Senate raise its official voice against this abridgment of human and civil rights which Rumania solemnly guaranteed not only in its accession to the United Nations, but also in the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty to which we are signatories. Especially today when the Communist regime tries to entertain closer economic and cultural relations with us and with other Western countries we must request a firm answer to the basic question: Is the Rumanian Communist Government willing to abide by the 1947 peace treaty in effectively providing the elementary human and civil rights to its people, including the persecuted Hungarian minority?

SCENIC DEVELOPMENT AND ROAD BEAUTIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY SYSTEMS—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 431

Mr. COOPER submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed.

PRINTING OF REVIEW OF REPORT ON LITTLE ROCK LEVEE, ARKANSAS (EAST END-FOURCHE BAYOU (S. DOC. NO. 55)

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I present a letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a report dated August 31, 1965, from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of the report on Little Rock Levee, Arkansas—(East End-Fourche Bayou—requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, U.S. Senate. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed as a Senate Document, with illustrations, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of the bill, S. 2345, to amend the Government Employees' Training Act so as to extend certain benefits thereunder to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, the name of the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 26, 1965, the names of Mr. DODD, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, and Mr. SALTONSTALL were added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 2460) to authorize the establishment of the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, in the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. RIBICOFF (for himself and Mr. COTTON) on August 26, 1965.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. HART. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce that the subcommittee will hold hearings September 15, 16, and 17 on S. 1842, S. 1843, and S. 1844.

Anyone wishing to testify on these dual distribution bills introduced by the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], our majority whip, may arrange to do so by contacting the subcommittee chief counsel.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. THURMOND:

Editorial entitled "This, Too, Will Pass," published in the Columbia (S.C.) The State, of August 11, 1965, dealing with the plight of the South today.

PTA UNDER ATTACK; HOW TO DEFEND IT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is a fact of American life that the people in local community organizations are forever on the firing line, in maintaining the true spirit of freedom of expression and freedom of thought which is so essential a part of the American dream.

This was true in the 1940's and 1950's, when dedicated and courageous men and women in the small union halls throughout the Nation fought day and night to rid the American labor movement of Communist influence. These men and women succeeded but not without great personal sacrifices of time, talent, and patience—often they were made the targets of abuse for their patriotic efforts.

It is true today, when the threat to American philosophy and tradition comes from a different source—those elements of the radical right which tend to use the same tactics used by the Communists of the 1930's and 1940's to silence opposition and to impose their beliefs on our people. In meeting halls and school auditoriums in many parts of the country, the old Communist tactic of smearing anyone who opposes them as anti-American or antipatriotic is being heard again from some of the same people who now claim that it is all being done in the name of anticommunism.

This new assault on freedom of expression is illustrated by the nationwide attack now being waged against the Parent-Teachers Association, national and local PTA's. This is not to say that every disagreement with the aims of a local PTA or opposition to it is part of the radical-right program: disagreements over the administration of our schools has always been with us and always will, as long as parents remain interested in the education of their children. But the nationwide pattern of the radical-right attacks on PTA's is too clearly general as to be worthy of vote by the Congress. The pattern is outlined in an article by Ernest Dunbar in the September 7 issue of Look magazine, entitled "The Plot To Take Over the PTA." I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Look, Sept. 7, 1965]

THE PLOT TO TAKE OVER THE PTA

(NOTE.—In auditoriums and across living room tables, a subtle but vicious war is being fought over how America's schools should be run. The antagonists are housewives, businessmen, teachers, and some super-patriots. The weapons include innuendo, parliamentary maneuvers, and sometimes—violence.)

(By Ernest Dunbar)

We have to live with these people day in and day out, in all of our clubs and our schools and our children. Until you're in the middle of it, you don't realize what it entails.

The speaker was a housewife in Wheaton, Ill., a Chicago suburb. She was troubled, thinking back over incidents that seemed somehow like a bad dream and yet were part of a reality that had forced its way in upon her tranquil, tree-shaded world. The battle lines of an ugly, unheralded war began at her doorstep, and the opposing troops were neighbors, acquaintances, and onetime friends.

Who are "these people?" They are other Americans—superpatriots, self-appointed Paul Reveres, confused mothers, bewildered businessmen, professional "anti-Communists." Their stated goal: to rid America's schools of alleged Communist influences. Their intended vehicle: the local Parent-Teacher Association.

Would the Wheaton housewife talk to a Look reporter? Hesitantly, she agreed. What she had to say mirrored the anguish, the turmoil, and strife that are becoming distressing familiar in many school PTA's across these United States.

Her PTA had come under the domination of ultraconservative members of the community, and they had invited a traveling lecturer on anticommunism to address them in the high school auditorium. His talk shocked the mild-mannered suburbanite. According to the speaker, most Federal officials in Washington do not believe in God or the Constitution, and are under the influence of a foreign Communist power; the State Department and the U.S. Supreme Court are being directed by the same Communist conspiracy; the news media of the country are dominated by Communists, and the United Nations exists solely for subverting the United States and other nations, and dragging them into "one-world government."

"I couldn't believe my ears," the housewife says. "What's worse was that everybody was sitting there nodding in agreement. There was almost no objection to anything this man said," she recalls. Later, during the discussion period, when she questioned the accuracy of some of the lecturer's statements, "there were people glaring at me and muttering, and frankly, I felt afraid."

Late one evening, 2 weeks after this incident, two men tried to force their way into her home while her husband was out of town. They said they had "come to have it out" with her because of her opposition to the conservative direction taken by the local PTA unit. The men left only after she threatened to call for help.

Last winter, in St. Augustine, Fla., before an important meeting of a high school PTA, the chairman of the local (white) Citizens Council, a segregationist organization, took his PTA membership card to a printer and had 500 counterfeit cards made in order to pack the meeting with his non-PTA supporters. Not only did another council member ask the PTA president to sign the bogus membership card (the request was rejected), but the printing bill for the fake cards was sent to PTA.

At Portland, Oreg., Wilson High earlier this year, the PTA scheduled a series of speakers on civil rights to coincide with a study project being conducted by the

school's students. One of the talks was given by J. Belton Hamilton, a Negro assistant attorney general of Oregon. The committee of parents that had arranged the meeting reported "numerous phone calls were received which labeled the speaker, the principal, and the PTA president as Communists and put unusual pressure on us to have a speaker representing their special interests." The report said that those responsible for the pressures "have taken their action in the name of 'patriotism' and 'Americanism.'"

Last year, in Upper Saddle River, N.J., a well-to-do New York City suburb, Businessman Jerry Schlossberg, vice president of the Edith Bogert School PTA, was selected by a nomination committee to become president. In that PTA, the vice president usually succeeds the outgoing president. Then things took an untraditional turn. Schlossberg says a telephone campaign spread the word around town that he, Schlossberg, a member of a local fair-housing group, was going to bring some Negro families into the all-white community. Three days before the election, a meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Ordeen Knight, Schlossberg's nomination was withdrawn, and a substitute slate headed by Mrs. Knight put up. Some board members later asserted that Schlossberg lacked the "temperament" for the job.

After the election of Mrs. Knight as president of the Bogert School PTA, a local newspaper revealed that both she and the new vice president were members of the extremist John Birch Society.

In North Hollywood, Calif., PTA members at the Victory Boulevard Elementary School prepared to put on their third annual skit to raise money for school activities. Fifty parents and the school principal, Francis Williams, were to take part in the program, which they had been rehearsing for 3 months. Shortly before the play was to open, one Victory Boulevard School parent objected to a show that spoofed George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and other historical figures. News of the objection appeared in the press, and the principal began receiving telephone calls from people who were not in PTA and had no children in the school. One caller warned him that the show must be canceled "if you want to see daylight tomorrow."

Williams submitted the script to the two most conservative members of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, who did not oppose his going ahead with the show. After the first of four scheduled performances of the "Victory Boulevard Follies," a powerful bomb was set off in the restaurant owned by Konrad Schloss, one of the authors of the controversial skit. School authorities, fearing for the safety of the children, canceled the remaining three performances. The \$500 that the parents had hoped to raise for the school fund was lost.

What's happening in the PTA? In airy kitchens, high school auditoriums, over living room tables, and on sunswept patios across the Nation, a shadowy but frequently vicious war is being fought. The stakes are the minds of American schoolchildren.

The antagonists are housewives, principals, teachers, physicians, school board members, and veterans' leaders. They range from dogooders, stand-patters, middle-of-the-roads to the lunatic fringe. The weapons are parliamentary procedure, delay, disruption. Sometimes they include innuendo, character assassination, racial or religious bigotry, harassment, threats, and violence.

No community is immune. Some of the participants are unaware of the true nature of the fight, and many are equally unaware that the same kind of fight is going on at the same moment in dozens of other communities around the country. Ordinary housewives have suddenly had to become experts on extremist tactics and literature because what they had thought was going to be a pleasant tour of duty as a PTA officer has